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ESKIMO REINDEER HERDING: A PROBLEM IN APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY

ROBERT T. ANDERSON

Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (Paris)

INTRODUCTION

This paper is concerned with the traceable development of reindeer herding practices in Alaska since 1892, and with the sociocultural implications, largely economic, entailed in the several and different methods of herding — government-guided as well as spasmodic. For the purposes of elucidation on the pervasive cultural influences that can be effected with changes in patterns of reindeer domestication and surveillance, reindeer herding methods are investigated in Section II, for Lapland. Differences in two basic types of Lapp reindeer husbandry, the intensive and the extensive, are analyzed and these are simultaneously looked at historically and in the light of Lapp residence patterns, economy and standard of living. The Lapp data are pivotal, and provide in the third and concluding section insight for a reexamination of the present problem of herding method in Alaska. It is, consequently, a small exercise in applied anthropology with reference to predictability in the relative success of specific herding practices.

SECTION I: REINDEER HERDING IN ALASKA

Reindeer husbandry has a world-wide distribution within the circumpolar zone, but except for Alaska and Canada its early history is largely conjectural. Thus, Berthold Laufer's (1917) conclusion that reindeer domestication first occurred in the Lake Baikal region with subsequent diffusion throughout Siberia diverges radically from that of K. B. Wiklund (1918), who held that there were four basic types — Chukchi-Koryak, Tungus-Soyot, Samoyed-Ostyak, and Lapp — each with a separate and independent origin. More recent writers are no more agreed than Laufer and Wiklund concerning the origin and spread of animal husbandry in Eurasia, which, because of its antiquity, must be reconstructed largely without the help of documentation. In Alaska, however, reindeer were introduced by the United States government in recent times, and herding data are known in detail.

Reindeer were brought to Alaska mainly through the efforts of Sheldon Jackson, who found that the exploitation of whaling for commerce had so depleted the Arctic waters of whale and walrus that the Eskimo were in a critical state of chronic starvation. In his Report (1889-90:1292) to the commissioner of education in 1889, he explained that simply feeding the Eskimo, "... would cost hundreds of thousands of dollars annually, and, worse than that, degrade, pauperize, and finally exterminate the people. There is a better, cheaper, more practical and more humane way, and that is to introduce into northern Alaska the domesticated reindeer of Siberia, and train the Eskimo young men in their management, care, and propagation." When Congress failed to appropriate money for the venture Dr. Jackson solicited \$2,146 in private subscriptions and in 1891 imported the first sixteen domestic reindeer from Siberia.

As Dr. Margaret Lantis (1950:28) has pointed out, the history of reindeer herding in Alaska may be divided into three periods: (1) 1892-1914, only Eskimos and Lapps owned deer, (2) 1914-1939, non-native ownership and commercial exploitation, (3) since 1940, ownership again restricted to natives, commercial exploitation de-emphasized and efforts directed towards reestablishing the industry after its disruption in the 1930's.

Period one. During this period the technique employed was that of "close herding," that is, the herd was followed continuously throughout the year, kept always under the control of the herders. Lapp reindeer herders were brought in by the government to instruct the Eskimos. It was originally Dr. Jackson's intention that the deer should receive the constant management necessary to permit their use for transportation as well as for milking. The latter was unsuccessful from the start. Dr. Jackson (Report 1893-94:1456) reported that for six herders to catch five cows and milk them (yielding a total of one quart) it usually took two hours. Although the Lapp teachers were much more efficient, it proved impractical to foster the expenditure of so much effort for milk.

The use of reindeer for freighting had a much more propitious start. Reindeer sledging has many obvious advantages over the use of dogs, for example, it is not necessary to carry food for them since they can find pasture on the trail (Report 1892-93:1710). But the work of taming reindeer to the sledge or

the pack is considerable, and with the advent of modern transportation in the north, reindeer transportation ceased to be important, even for the Eskimo.

Period two. In the early years of Alaskan reindeer breeding, pastures were adequate, and the ravages of predatory animals not yet severe. Herds increased rapidly in size. In 1915 William Hamilton (Report 1915:638) reported, "The reindeer enterprise has successfully passed through two stages: introduction into Alaska, and development of an administration which has established the industry. There remains the successful commercializing of the industry, the advancement of the enterprise from a branch of industrial education to one of the industries of the country." When, in 1914, ownership of reindeer was no longer confined by law to natives and Lapps, it seemed to promise an eminent fulfillment of the prophesy (Grosvenor 1902:613) that, "... the time is coming when Alaska will have great reindeer ranches like the great cattle ranches of the Southwest, and they will be no less profitable."

In the belief that the reindeer business could operate much like the cattle business of the Southwest, the Eskimo were encouraged to abandon "close herding" for the system of "open herding" (Lantis 1950:32). At the same time individual owners of reindeer joined together to form large association herds. Each individual who joined received stock in proportion to the number of reindeer he brought with him, and the deer were thereafter considered and handled as a single association herd. (Rood in Survey 1939:20332).

According to L. J. Palmer of the Biological Survey, "open herding" should entail constant patrol around the herd with the distinction that, instead of being held in a close band, the reindeer are more dispersed with correspondingly greater opportunity to take advantage of the pasture. In this method, a big circle of herders is resumed daily around the deer in order to prevent straying from this more extensive group (Survey 1939:20313).¹ In practice, however, the herds were not kept under continuous surveillance.

This failing was partly due to the nature of the reindeer associations. With ownership belonging to the group, individual members shirked responsibility. Furthermore, since proper fa-

¹ Written in 1929.

cilities for the marketing of meat were lacking, money was not available to hire herders (Lantis 1950:32). In addition to the detrimental effects of dilatory association ownership, the herding situation was aggravated by the Eskimo's confusion and discouragement before the tactics of the enterprising non-native businessmen who were engaged in reindeer husbandry. As a result of the subsequent loss of interest and individual initiative, the system of open herding became almost no herding at all for the Eskimo. In 1939 J. S. Rood (acting general reindeer superintendent) reported that "constant herding" had been generally neglected and substituted by the unsystematic practice of rounding up the animals from time to time for marking, castrating, and butchering, and allowing them otherwise to wander freely on the open range.

Period three. The results of poor management and improper herding practices were nearly permanently disastrous. Free ranging herds could no longer be protected from the ever increasing wolves and other predatory animals. Without herders to guide them to good pastures, the animals were weakened by starvation during the winter, making them all the more susceptible to predators, disease, and unsuccessful fawning. Finally, many reindeer were lost to wild caribou herds, which they readily join (Lantis 1952:134-35).

To remedy this chaotic situation, Congress arranged for the purchase of all white-owned reindeer, and since 1940 ownership has been restricted to the natives of Alaska. The return of the industry to the Eskimo cleared the way for its reestablishment as a basis of existence for many who would otherwise recurrently face starvation, just as Dr. Jackson had originally intended (see p. 2).

The results, however, have been disappointing. In spite of congressional action, there was a rapid decline in the numbers of reindeer from 1938 to about 1945, with a continued, though more gradual decline after that date (Hanson 1952:9).²

In a survey of twenty localities made in 1948 Eskimo consensus as to the causes of this decrease was, "... wolves, starvation, poor herding and management, excessive butchering, and mixing with caribou." Similarly, white opinion attributed it to, "...

²Based on reports through 1951.

wolves, poor herding and management, and starvation due to wolves chasing and scattering." (Lantis 1950:36).

In the hearings that resulted in the reorganization of the reindeer industry, it was made clear that herding technique was one of the most important problems to be faced. W. T. Lopp (Survey 1939:20150-51), who was one of the pioneers in the industry in his capacity as a government teacher, wrote in 1937, "As I understand the situation, the herding question is at this time the all important one. It dwarfs all others." According to Mr. Lopp:

1. In old-style herding deermen wander with the herd and see all or part of it daily.

In new-style herding they do not see the herd for days and months, and corral only parts of it at their round-ups.

2. Old-style herding keeps deer tame, also handy for use of skins, meat, sinew, and sled deer.

New-style herding makes deer wild and causes them to scatter over wide areas of tundra so they cannot be used when needed. . . .

21. Old-style herding has been . . . [efficient] in northern Europe and Asia for hundreds of years. It was . . . (efficient) in Alaska for about 32 years. It is the only system that will make real deermen out of part of the native hunters; the only kind of herding that will keep the native's body and mind working 12 months of the year; the only system that will insure him and his children against food famines and the lack of clothing; and the only herding system that will give his people an additional animal — the sled deer, which rustles its own feed.

New-style herding in Alaska during the last 10 or 12 years has caused the loss of thousands of reindeer, the mixing of ownership in almost all the herds, and the discouragement of every deerman. Instead of making a pastoral people out of part of the natives, it is turning them back toward the old caribou round-ups and drives of their forefathers, when thousands of caribou were driven into lakes and crude corrals for slaughter — back to the old 'feast and famine days.'

As an alternative to this proposal C. J. Lomen (Survey 1939: 20247-48), the most influential white owner of reindeer, offered the following plan:

Seward peninsula district has been divided into five units each with natural boundaries within which reindeer will naturally remain: Buckland, Teller, Nome, Golovin, and Egavik.

All the herds within each unit should be considered and handled as one herd, but in several divisions, so that deer are available in all communities of the unit. Present owners should give up their individual marks after a percentage of ownership has been established. Natural increase would thenceforth receive a unit mark.

Handling the deer of each unit as one herd will permit rotation of range grazing and will obviate the necessity of close herding, thus eliminating the great expense of preventing intermingling.

The suggestions in favor of open herding (including the Loman plan for unit herds) were not favorably received and the Reindeer Service supported the reinstitution of close herding (i.e., Lopp's "old-style herding" and Rood's "constant herding") (Lantis 1950:36), inaugurating the third and present period in the Eskimo reindeer industry of Alaska.

SECTION II: REINDEER HERDING IN LAPLAND

The origin of reindeer domestication in Lapland, as in all of northern Eurasia, is an enigma. Yet, since the publication of *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* in 1555 by Olaus Magnus, a considerable volume of literature has been written, making the Lapps the best known of all reindeer herders, and offering a fruitful field for comparison.

There are two basic types of Lapp reindeer husbandry: the intensive type, and the extensive. According to Johansson (Manker 1944:258) the expression "intensive" is synonymous with "old-style reindeer breeding," as defined for the United States Government by Lopp, in which well tamed herds were carefully tended during most of the year, and in which the products of rein-

deer breeding — food (including milk), clothing and transportation — provided all the necessities.²

This method of constant herding required the family to follow the herd the year round. When pastures became bad in late winter in the forest the herd was moved as quickly as possible to the spring area where the early disappearance of the snow permitted grazing. Arrival in the spring area was at the end of April or the beginning of May. Herding in the spring was especially strenuous and methodical because it was the calving season. The males and females needed to be separated into two herds, and the does received special treatment. The male herd was tended night and day by the young members of the family and was brought to the vicinity of the camp every morning and evening for the change of watch, while the female herd was tended assiduously by the older people. The two herds were kept separate until arrival at the summer grazing area in mid-June.

Herding in the summer was just as intensive as in the spring — the animals were still watched both night and day. Milking was begun around mid-summer and continued until the end of December. This chore required rounding up the females once or twice a day, and consumed a great amount of time and effort, since reindeer do not submit docilely to milking as do cows. During the rutting season in the autumn area (last half of September) the deer might be permitted to go free for a few weeks before being subjected again to milking and close herding.

The only season when herding could be less strict was after the cessation of milking in winter, if there were no wolves in the vicinity. Yet even during this part of the year supervision of the herd was virtually constant.

By the end of the 1920's this "intensive" method of reindeer husbandry had all but disappeared and was replaced by the modern method of "extensive" herding. The latter method is characterized by a freeing of the families from the herd which is no longer followed continuously, and by an economy based on meat production. Whereas formerly the families followed their herds throughout the year, they now reside in relatively large permanent villages during most of the year.

²The following works form the basis for the summary of the intensive method: Manker, 1934, 1944, 1947; Ruong, 1937, 1944.

During the winter the modern extensive principle is not very different from the intensive. The outstanding distinction is that only the herder follows the herd, and not the whole family. On the other hand, there is considerable difference in spring, summer, and fall practices. Formerly the reindeer were kept the year round in herds comprised of animals of one or at most two or three families, just as they still are during the winter. Today, however, under extensive methods the herds are now joined together during the rest of the year into large communal herds. Sometimes the animals of whole villages are contained in a single herd. The method of tending these large herds is the so-called peripheral-herding technique (*kantbevakning*). The herders' job is simply to watch, from time to time, that the herd does not go over certain boundaries and their main duty is to guard certain mountain passes through which the animals would be most likely to escape. Of recent years this job has been eased by the construction of long fences in crucial areas.

Herding is more constant during the calving season although it is no longer the practice to separate the females from the rest of the herd. Nor is milk of any economic importance, goats supplying all that is necessary. The marking of calves' ears is still a job to be accomplished during the summer, but instead of being done in conjunction with the milking roundups it has become a job in itself. Castration is still practiced too, in order to select the best breeding stock and to provide better animals for slaughter, but not for the acquisition of draught or pack deer. Roundups for these purposes and to separate the smaller families or groups of families (called *sits*) from the herd before migration to the fall and winter areas, where it is more convenient to graze small bands, constitute the major effort of spring, summer and fall. In addition, fall roundups are made to select animals, including calves, for slaughter and sale.

In northern Lapland the extensive method developed out of the intensive, probably during the 17th and 18th centuries. A number of factors influenced this change. The encroachment of Scandinavian farmers improved communications and provided a market for large numbers of reindeer hide and for meat. At the same time their agrarian neighbors provided the Lapps a stimulus for an economy that would permit in lieu of self-sufficiency the purchase of Scandinavian goods. In addition,

topographic conditions were different in the north where it was customary in the summer to keep the reindeer on the Atlantic coast on islands or in deep fjord valleys forming natural borders. As soon as milking was abandoned and large herds became customary a freer, more extensive method of herding was practiced. In southern Lapland (and our data are taken mainly from Sweden) the shift to the extensive method was a much later outcome of direct competition between the two methods. This competition became especially intense after 1919 when many northern families were forced to give up their traditional pastures in Norway because of international agreements, and immigrated into the territory of southern Lapps, who were employing the intensive technique. Triumph of the extensive method in this area may be taken as indicative of its superiority over the intensive method in the sense that it fostered a better adjustment of the Lapp to his environment *under modern circumstances*. The problem of obtaining sufficient pasturage is circumvented since the new technique permits the free ranging animals to take advantage of a larger grazing area while at the same time inhibiting overgrazing, which frequently results from more intensive feeding. The difficulty of securing enough capable herders is lessened, since fewer workers are needed. In addition, desirable men are encouraged to take up and continue the profession since living conditions are much easier. The herder's family can live most of the year in a stationary village with the comforts of a permanent dwelling. The herder himself, aided by modern equipment and means of communication, looks after the reindeer less persistently at prescribed times. Their standard of living corresponds favorably with that of their Scandinavian neighbors, since sale of meat and skins permits the purchase of merchandise and food unavailable under the intensive economy. Finally, while the intensive method kept men, women and children alike continuously employed with the work of herding, the extensive method employs only a few members of the family during most of the year. Hence, the people in the settlements can occupy themselves with other occupations, including the keeping of goats for milk, the manufacture of articles for use and trade, and fishing. In the old days, the only ones who had time for fishing were those who had too few deer. Modern methods, on the other hand, permit profitable fishing with the use of modern methods. A good extra income may even be had from berry picking.

SECTION III: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

In the light of pertinent Lapp data, let us now re-examine the problem of herding method in Alaska. The chaos of the 1930's is sufficient argument against allowing the herds to wander without supervision between round-ups. Yet, the subsequent decision on the part of the Reindeer Service to encourage close herding is nevertheless suspect. A fundamental encumbrance to a resolution of the Eskimo problem seems to have been that basic distinctions in herding methods were misunderstood as potential choices. The suspicion is further encouraged by the concurrent developments in Lapland, where the tendency has been in the direction of a more extensive, open type of herding practice. In effect, it seems unavoidably evident that while the discussions of 1939 were in terms of the advantages of open herding versus those of close herding, the actual conditions contrasted in support of the arguments were the product, not of these two methods, but of constant close herding and virtually *no herding at all*.

The problem, then, is to determine which of three or more techniques is most suitable, rather than simply to abandon an obviously undesirable one, whatever variations it may be capable of expressing (e.g., unit herds), for the only considered alternative short of ending the industry entirely, namely close herding.

Close herding is defined simply as keeping the herd together in all weather and terrain, regardless of the season. Neither Sheldon Jackson nor his avid supporter W. T. Lopp defined it more accurately, and the assumption was generally held that this was the method of northern Europe and Asia. Herding methods in Eurasia are extremely diverse, however. After the Siberians disqualified themselves as teachers because of their arrogance and obstinacy, Lapp teachers were used, and the herding method inaugurated in Alaska was basically Lappish, but was modified significantly. The intensive method of the Lapps, as we have discussed it above, is a self-contained productive unit. Using skins for clothing, milk, meat, and blood for food, and trained animals for transportation, Lapps had few if any needs that they could not supply for themselves. But this economy required concentration on every deer in the herd — for milking the does had to be rounded up once or twice a day

for approximately half of the year, and for transportation the geldings had to be tame enough to haul a sled or carry a pack. This, in turn, limited the number of animals in the herd, and the numbers of animals were relatively small. Alaskans, on the other hand, have dispensed with the use of milk and of draught animals and have thereby restricted their income to skins and meat.

Clearly, the terms "close herding" as used in Alaska and "intensive herding" as used in Lapland are far from synonymous. But the basic difference between the two techniques is even more pronounced in the light of another factor: residence. Among the Lapps the rigors of constant herding were mitigated by the custom of the whole family, with tents and equipment, accompanying the herd throughout its yearly migration. Indeed, it was this factor that made intensive herding possible (Ruong 1937:23). The Eskimo family, on the contrary, did not accompany the herders, but remained in the permanent village (Forrest 1937). In effect, Alaskan close herding combines the residence pattern and economic system of the Lapp extensive method with the constant herding practice of the intensive.

This being the case, the question that must be answered is, has the Alaskan technique combined the best elements of the two types of Lappish animal husbandry? The problems that plague the industry suggest a negative answer to this question.

Constant herding requires a large herding force. Hence, the economic advantage of a sedentary camp — fishing, hand crafts, and so on — are restricted to those tasks that the women can accomplish; men who in Sweden would have time for secondary pursuits are required to be with the herd. On the other hand, it imposes great hardships on the men, since it means prolonged absence from the comforts of the village and communal life. This was avoided in earlier times by grazing close to the village, which is precisely the explanation for the fact that through overgrazing there are no longer sufficient lichens (winter feed) to be found in the western Seward peninsula, along the coast, or near villages in general (Hanson 1952:3). The hardships of close herding also include the difficult task of keeping the deer together under every circumstance — all factors tending to discourage capable young men from entering the profession, at the same time that the close method requires a larger number of herders than the extensive method. To these considerations must

be added the fact that good pasture is not limitless in Alaska, however great the potentialities. Close herding results in much more rapid dissipation of lichen fields and does not permit the animals to take advantage of areas too sparsely grown for heavy grazing but adequate for a more open technique.

A complete shift to an extensive method, rather than the unbalanced compromise presently in vogue feasibly could circumvent the major difficulties of the present reindeer herding situation in Alaska. As Palmer has pointed out (see p. 3) a more diffused herd promises better pasture conditions, as is the case in Scandinavia. The plan for Seward peninsula presented by C. J. Lomen indicates that the modern Lapp system could be employed. Natural boundaries would in Alaska, just as they did in Lapland, safely permit a more casual, and hence more economical care of the herd. A major objection to Loman's plan is his suggestion that individual ownership be surrendered in return for shares in the unit herd. This is simply the association ownership of the bad years, and, as Dr. Lantis (1952) has pointed out, does not seem at all advisable for the Eskimo.

Ownership in Lapland is still vested in individuals. Although individually owned herds are joined together during a large part of the year, the identity of individual animals is not lost (calves are marked to their mothers) and the communal herd is split up into family units for the fall and winter seasons. Thus the practical advantage of small bands of animals during part of the year has the added advantage of retaining pride of ownership and a sense of individual responsibility (Manker 1944:258). The practice of unit herds does not necessitate association type of ownership.

The combination of communal and individual herding in Lapland is apparently a development from a similar combination of communal and individual ownership in pre-reindeer hunting days. The sense of communal responsibility of the Eskimo, exemplified in the distribution of food (e.g., whale and seal) throughout the community by the successful hunter does not seem to differ greatly from the former practice of the Lapps of distributing in the same manner the products of their chase (e.g., reindeer and beaver). In both societies families received a share of meat regardless of whether one of their members had participated in the hunt or not. The potentiality of the combination of communal and individual herds for Eskimo practice

certainly warrants consideration — at least to the extent of further investigation.

A final matter for consideration is an economic one. The needs of modern Eskimos, just as of modern Lapps, approach closely those of their white neighbors. The Lapps supply these modern needs through the sale of meat and skins. The same satisfaction is also essential to the ultimate success of Eskimo reindeer herding. Although large-scale commercial exploitation of the reindeer industry is very wisely omitted from present day plans, it is unwise indeed to ignore the importance of the existent market within Alaska proper. The marketing of reindeer in the northern towns must be developed in order to permit the natives to purchase the products of western civilization which, though once luxuries, are now essential to their well-being. As transportation problems are resolved, the extensive type of herding will be able to supply the demand. By the same token, the intensive, self-sufficient method as once practiced widely in Lapland, can provide no more than a little cheese for marketing, and in this modern world could no more satisfy an Eskimo than a Lapp.

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THE SPIRITS OF THE DEAD

An introduction to the ancestor worship of the Sukuma of Tanganyika

R. E. S. TANNER

Musoma, Tanganyika

I. LIFE AND THOUGHT

The Sukuma are pastoral agriculturists living on the semi-arid steppe of north western Tanganyika, administratively divided into a series of loosely federated chiefdoms. So far they have been little influenced by either Christianity or Islam and continue to practice their own form of ancestor worship which is the subject of this paper.

It is essential before we pass to a consideration of their actual religious practices, to understand what they regard as the principles of life and to proceed from that to their worship and the reasons for their beliefs.

In the absence of a written tradition their beliefs have wide variations and few Sukuma have given thought to such problems so that it is only from the everyday phrases exemplifying certain words that a loosely coherent system can be constructed.

If we ignore for the moment the supernatural forces which mould the intentions of a human being, the chain of causation from desire to action is from the heart to the brain which translates the desire into action. The heart itself is the centre of life maintained by the breath.

Breath lives within the body and looks after it so that when it leaves they say that death follows and that shortness of breath accompanies weakness; in fact breath is given to man so that he may work, and is the force which holds the body erect. Although breath is in every part of the body, it comes from inside the heart — *myuyi ikingaga mu moyo*.

If a man dies the Sukuma say that his breath is finished — *munhu uyu washilaga myuyi* — and following on this that breath not only looks after life but also death as well.

Each man has his own breath with which he is born and which is not the same as that of anyone else. Breath increases with the growth of the body and sickness is regarded as the outward expression of the breath's illness.

It seems that the Sukuma word covers both the Swahili word for soul — *royo* — and for breath. Nevertheless the breath has no evil or good intentions and is not the soul as we understand it; possibly a better interpretation would be that it is the spirit of life.

The heart experiences the desires and wants of the man and passes that knowledge to the brain and then, through the functioning of the body, the breath gives expression to the action.

The heart would say: "today my heart dislikes this sort of food and prefers this" — *lelo moyo gwane gututogwa shilebe, gulitogwa shilebe dudu*. When the man is not sick it is his heart which picks and chooses. The heart then in this aspect has the work of considering intentions of a bodily nature but not those of a moral or spiritual aspect.

Although the function of the brain is to follow that of the heart, they are in a sense thought to work together so that from this combination comes activity. It is the work of the heart to look after the physical welfare of the body and they understand that if the heart does not make known the troubles of the body then the individual will die.

The heart also functions as a part of the personality when they say: "my heart is happy," — *moyo gwanne gwayega* — or "my heart does not want to deal with him," — *moyo gwanne gwitaga kitima*. It is also the excuse for forgetfulness when they say: "my heart meant to do something but forgot," — *moyo gwanne gwakabaga* — or as a polite way of expressing a divergence of opinion when they say: "our hearts are of the one type but our intentions are different," — *moyo ise ili imo kihamo, lelo ng'horu jikilile*.

The badness of a man is not anything which is inherent in his own character or which they can attribute to him in a directly personal sense. They regard this badness as being of the heart, while the heart itself is said to express the intentions of the spirit of life.

Some state that the heart in its known activities has four divisions. There is first the man who lives with his heart for the whole of his life, which they express as the well-intentioned and good-hearted person, — *ng'horu yakwe ya wiza no*. Secondly there is the person who on one day gets on well with his fellows and on the next day behaves as a mean person, his heart is in fact two-sided — *ng'horu yakwe kiti kasaji*. Then

there is the man who lives all the time without any happiness towards his fellows, — the sullen-minded person — *ng'horu yak-we ya bubi no*. Finally, there is the man — *ntubu* — who prefers to live on his own the whole time.

It should be noted that the spirit of life is regarded as existing separately from the heart, which expresses its intentions. Rather more important, however, is the fact that the Sukuma describe the activities of the heart only in relation to other people. There is no idea that the heart can have a moral goodness independent of society. It can be good only in relation to the society in which the individual lives.

The heart expresses the intention of the spirit of life and acts as the motive force which allows the brain to function. Thus for example if a man is cheated, the heart acts on the spirit of life's annoyance, which in turn works the brain to actually make the complaint. It is interesting to note that the brain occupies a subordinate role, which fits in well with their conception that the individual is very much a creature of his destiny. There is little that he can do which will alter the unfolding of his life as it might have been laid down by the spiritual forces to which he is at all times subordinate.

The first sentence of a text on the role of the brain states categorically that a brain exists in anything which walks, and that it exists to consider what is given out by the heart before it is passed into action.

The Sukuma also state that a man without a brain cannot be a complete being. Nevertheless they distinguish between the brain — *bongo* — and intelligence — *masala*.

They divide the outward expression of the brain into four. There are the simple-minded — *masala mado*; the mad — *masala kudu*; the intelligent person — *muhu wa masala*; and lastly the person who has to make an effort to think — *masala gakwe ga kuchuchuba*.

The brain helps the man to speak what is in his heart after properly considering it, but the man who speaks without thinking is the stupid one since he does not use the brain which he is supposed to use.

There can be no direct communication with the brain other than passing through the heart, so that it cannot work alone either as a recording agent or as an activating principle. Read-

ing is done through the heart just as is a problem of arithmetic; the heart is in every case the vehicle on which the other faculties ride and without which they become immobilised.

The Sukuma give considerable attention to the shadow — *ng'wengeji* — of a man which they regard as a sign of his life. They state quite categorically that a dead man has no shadow; for this reason the wizard will take a part of a living man's shadow in order to kill him by witchcraft. They say that the shadow is bodily health — *ng'wengeji hu bupanga* — and that a corpse has no shadow — *ng'wengeji gutilonga ha mimba*.

Some informants went so far as to say that a corpse, which would be set up in the sun, would have no shadow. One man, who wanted to make a proper experiment and tried to get near to a corpse on its way to the grave, was sharply dealt with by the relatives of the dead man who thought he was trying to get material for witchcraft activity.

Their theories of causation show a marked passivity in that the brain is subordinate to the functioning of the body of which the heart is the motivating principle. For the carrying on of his life, the individual is dependent on supernatural forces of which the ancestors are probably the least powerful agents in Sukuma cosmology, although they figure in the greater part of the individual's religious practice.

II. THE LINEAGE

A potential ancestor spirit is in the blood of every man and becomes active after his death. All the spirits of his ancestors are in his blood and in the blood of his relatives. If a man dies without child, the spirit of the dead man goes to his brothers by reason of the blood relationship through father and grandfather; it is not necessary for him to die in order that his spirit be present in the body of his son, and they allege that a living man by this means is able to affect another living relative.

As descent is patrilineal there could be no continuance of the life through daughters who, upon marriage, become attached to other lineages. Nevertheless, the married women still remain members of their own lineages and are able to take part in the ritual activities of their own families.

Only one case was encountered in which the true lineage had

been falsified in order that the inheritance of a chieftainship should be passed down in direct line. The circumstances were these: a chief in the past had had only one child, a girl; he prevented her from marrying; in the course of time she bore an illegitimate son which then belonged to her father and not to the genitor; the chieftainship was thereby kept in the family of the old chief.

A man's spirit is within him and looks after him but is not located in any particular part of him. It can maintain the man in good health, but it does not help a man to think or feel, abilities reserved to the activity of the heart. A good harvest or intelligent cultivation is not the result of the direct help of the ancestors.

Juma Ndamulo and his classificatory brother had signed on as recruits for the King's African Rifles without their father's permission. The night before they left for the depot they went home to say good-bye to their father. The father asked them who would look after him when they had gone, but his son said that he could not withdraw now as he had signed on. The father was quite dogmatic, insisting that his son would not be accepted and would return home, regardless of what Juma might say. Later when they were leaving, the cow of the lineage dedicated to the spirits followed them down the path for several miles. When Juma got to the depot, he only stayed there three days and was discharged on medical grounds. Even ten years later he still regarded this as the perfect example of the ancestors' spirits taking action for the benefit of the family.

The spirits know the sex of the child before it is born and they base their intentions on this knowledge. As soon as the birth occurs they know whether the child will follow their wishes or not — knowledge which they were prevented from having prior to the event by the possibility of a miscarriage.

Although the child may be new-born, it can still have definite obligations towards its own ancestors. If it denies these at birth, then before striking the ancestors will wait until the child has grown up and is doing well.

Although name-giving is usually done soon after birth, names may be changed later in life because of illness which has been attributed by divination to a dereliction of filial duty. At the time of such name-changing, the person will be asperged by

the head of the lineage, who will make an invocation to the ancestors: "I am summoning my ancestors, I am calling them because of the name of your child here. You are wanting him to be called Masanja and from today this will be his name. This was as you wanted and from now on leave him alone that his family may increase and gather property and that he may regain health with plenty of food." There is no need for him to use the name in everyday life as the formal ceremony and the mention of the name therein is sufficient to alleviate the troubles from which he has been suffering.

After the child has been born, the ancestors come and look at the child to see its intelligence before the coming-out-of-the-house ceremony, at which it is given a name which they themselves may have decided upon before the birth.

If the birth is difficult the child is thought to be refusing to acknowledge the power and position of his ancestors, and they in their turn despair that he will be one of them. Accordingly the ancestors pin their hopes on another subsequent child to take the wanted name.

When the child is called by the name willed by a particular ancestor, all the ancestors are informed so that none of them will be angry. A man will only take names from the male side of his family and a woman from the female line.

There is no limit to the number of names which any individual can take on and some men have been through the ceremony as often as four times.

The importance of names cannot be overstressed as the name rather than the individual is the operative element on which most of his ritual life before and after death will depend. This fact is emphasized in witchcraft, where it is essential not only to obtain something of the individual to be bewitched or something which he has used, but also to know his full name. Otherwise the magic will be ineffective.

The study of texts seems to suggest that, although a person's father may have an operative ancestor spirit, in actual practice the taking of names is always referred to as from grandparent to grandchild. It should be noted, however, that there is telescoping of generations beyond this so that all ancestors may be referred to collectively as grandparents.

There is a continuity of the parent relationship carried on

from life into death, but it is no longer centered on individuals, and the loves and hates of the family life of this world are projected onto the ancestors more as a corporate body than as a collection of individuals. The concentration of propitiation on unknown ancestors by the descendants, who have been suffering from their activities, supports this conclusion. The recently dead parents are actively used as links with the mass of ancestors preceding them.

If the child is doing poorly in the days immediately after its birth, this will most certainly be taken as a sign of ancestor action. The infant then will be made to dribble into the bill of a young chicken which will be taken to a diviner for haruspiciation. This will tell the parents the cause of the sickness, which would usually be attributed to the need to name the child after an ancestor.

In the diagnosing of the causes of a child's illness, it is regarded as particularly significant should the child not cry during the early morning before dawn, as it is then that the ancestors are present in the compound.

Another feature is the neglect of the dead as individuals in contrast to the remembrance of them as ancestors. For instance, there is the lack of attention to graves which are unattended almost from the time of the funeral. No visits or periodic sweepings are required of the descendants unless they should be particularly prescribed by diviners. Except for the graves of chiefs, or occasionally as a result of divination, the graves in general are not the scene of ceremonies.

The living and the dead have an essential and continuous unity in which the two are interdependent. Each depends for its existence on the other, so that the higher the social standing of the descendant the greater the number of ancestors with whom he has to keep in touch.

III. ANCESTOR BEHAVIOUR

In their attentions to ancestors, the Sukuma do not seem to take particular care with the agnatic line; all or any of a man's ancestors may be called into prominence and propitiated. As inheritance is normally from father to son, it seems strange that this line is not stressed to the exclusion of others. Marriage is

allowed within the lineage except for those having great-grandparents in common. Consequently there may be a considerable number of common ancestors beyond that degree which would tend to make ancestor worship cognatic rather than agnatic.

Nevertheless a great many propitiation ceremonies are for female ancestors and it is probable that, as the women lose their kinship in their children, there may be a degree of counterbalancing, through their predominance in such ceremonies. It could also be looked upon as a belated retribution for such injustices as they, the female ancestors, may have suffered in their lives.

In their ideas on causality, benevolent and evil forces are not equally divided between the various spiritual agencies. In their investigation of illness and misfortune, there is no known direct line of causality which they and their diviners can follow for all matters. Rather there is a process of elimination which removes possible causes one by one and allows them eventually to hit on the remedy which is the true cure for ill health or misfortune in that particular context.

As an influence for good and evil the position of the ancestors is much more complex. It is doubtful if the people have any conception of good and evil abstract forces which are equally valid at all times and places. The average Sukuma would seem to grade his ideas of right and wrong according to the degree of relationship which he has to the person in the context. Since his primary obligations are to his own family and diminish with increasing kinship distance, it follows that the presence of ancestors must be a sanction on the behaviour of the individual which can, in this context, be described as moral.

The unit for ancestor worship is almost always the unitary family, except for the chief, who is the leading descendant of the dominant clan in each chiefdom and whose relationship with his ancestors in the past concerned the welfare of the whole chiefdom. Now little interest is taken in these activities relating to the chief's ancestors, in comparison to the past when they were the very centre of the life-cycle of the chiefdom.

Nowadays the chief is under the eye of an alien administration and usually considers rightly or wrongly that it would be inadvisable for him to take part in such ceremonies. The chief has a deputy under customary law, whose role has changed

to that of a substitute for the chief when these ceremonies are carried out in semi-secrecy in response to emergencies such as wide-spread drought or cattle sickness.

Although the ancestors are dominant in the ritual life of these people, they are relatively weak in their powers and they are never considered to have any direct control over the forces of nature; in fact they have no overall control over any particular facet of life and are themselves considered to be ultimately dependent on the Supreme Being and other non-ancestral spirits.

There is no idea that the ancestors will automatically look after their descendants and that illness and death are a result of their inattention. There is the necessity of intercession since the good will of the ancestors is essential. Magic medicines, however well divined, may be ineffective by themselves.

Regular everyday ritual directed to the ancestors is no longer considered a necessity in order to obtain a pleasant and satisfactory life, and, even in the more out of the way parts, it is no longer carried out. Perhaps there never has been regular ritual as such and the informants may have attributed to the past all the ideal aspects of life which they find to be absent from their present existence.

Today both the educated and uneducated persons can and do neglect their ancestors for years and only consider propitiating them when they are in trouble.

The ancestors themselves are very capricious and do not appear ever to complain of neglect in general but only of some particular desire that has not been followed, — a desire which in the majority of cases could not have been anticipated. Possibly neglect is not quite the correct word; it may be rather that they wish to be remembered in some particular way because of something which was done to them during their lives.

In a Sukuma's life, which may be pleasant and successful with plenty of cattle and a large family, there is never the suggestion that this well-being is in any way related to the number of propitiation ceremonies which the householder has performed. Only in the case of the magician whose art depends on the active cooperation of his ancestors, can it be said that he has been in an active and satisfactory communion with his ancestors. Such well-being may be related to the fact that on the one hand his ancestors have not noticed it or rather have refrained from

doing evil, and, on the other, its existence is due more to the actions of the Supreme Being and his subordinate spirits.

They have no firm idea of when the spirit of a dead man becomes active after his death and there are no ceremonies in which his spirit is activated into the community of the ancestors. They acknowledge that his powers are latent and some say that he can begin to influence the living as early as six months after his death. In other tales they do suggest that the spirit of the dead man does remain in the area of his home for a time and that under certain circumstances he can be both seen and felt.

However, we must examine these folk tales against the background of their social life. A man is never on terms of great intimacy with his father and it is thought that such attitudes would vitiate some of the other practical aspects of their relationship. The father is also too near to the living to be considered as a spirit in a group of spirits. The grandparent is a more distant relative in years, while at the same time his role is one of personal intimacy with the grandchild. Thus it seems likely that the spirit does not become active until there is a gap of one generation between the deceased and the living.

In actual fact the question may be largely an academic one. Although propitiation ceremonies may be addressed to a single ancestor, there is a marked reluctance to single out that ancestor by name, from fear of antagonizing the others, and invocations are usually addressed to them as a whole.

IV. IN EVERYDAY LIFE

A further link between the ancestors and their descendants is the practice of keeping a particular head of cattle, a goat, or a sheep in their remembrance. These animals are usually cattle, — *ng'ombe ya kwitongeleja*, — and are anointed by the head of the family at the beginning of a propitiation ceremony. Such animals are kept separate from the other animals herded by the family and are known by name, to which as often as not they answer when called. They are never slaughtered and are kept until they die, at which time their meat will be eaten only by the members of the family as a whole and not merely by those in the agnatic line. The milk from such a dedicated cow

can only be drunk by those who have spent the previous night in that family's compound or by the family itself.

Their dedication of an animal is not obligatory on every family but follows upon a chain of misfortune and the divination which accompanies all their ritual actions. On the death of one such animal, another would not be put in its place until and unless the family suffered another misfortune and was advised to dedicate another beast to a particular ancestor.

A wealthy family will dedicate a cow, but a goat would be sufficient for other families with less stock. A woman in trouble will dedicate a sheep to her ancestors, and sheep are seemingly used only in ceremonies which are connected with women.

In addition to the use of live-stock for continuous ancestor remembrance, the Bukwimba clan have dogs dedicated to their ancestors and use them in the same way. The clan founder was stated to have been a great hunter with the help of his dog and to have been very upset when it died and he took another one in remembrance of it to continue his hunting, which then became a clan tradition.

The Bwela clan have much the same practices with snakes. They, however, do not keep snakes in the house as members of the Buyeye secret society are accustomed to do. The snake visits the family to give them greetings from the ancestors but does not usually come unless there is something wrong, in which case it would appear near a sick person. The house owner will asperge it and it would never be harmed. Such a snake need not belong to any particular species.

An informant who saw a snake sleeping beside a young baby took a stick to kill it. The mother saw him and shrieked at him to stop because, she said, the snake was her relative. Many tales are told of snakes, sleeping in spirit houses, or which have responded to invocations and have not hurt anyone.

Shrines dedicated to the family's ancestors are a feature of large numbers of house compounds and are reproductions in miniature of the type of house in which the Sukumas may have lived in the past. They are frameworks of branches or grass hutches standing up to three feet high, with an additional variety consisting of flat stones set up in cromlech form. The tops of these shrines are sometimes decorated with objects such as heart-shaped hoes, the necks of pots and branches of thorns, in order

to show that the ancestors of the family are connected with chiefly clans. Although for specific reasons these may be set up at the gateways of compounds, they are usually placed in any empty space between the huts and are not in any way venerated in the daily life of the compound.

The erection of such shrines is likewise the result of misfortune and the consequent divination of its cause, and, once built, they seem to have fulfilled their primary purpose. They are not repaired except as a result of a subsequent divination in connection with renewed misfortune. Children climb on them, goats sleep in them, and they often have a bedraggled appearance.

The average family would be contented with one shrine. However, according to the amount of interest in and reliance of the family on its ancestors, the number may increase. Some magician might have as many as twenty shrines scattered around his compound to testify to his spiritual connections.

V. PROPITIATION CEREMONIES

Ceremonies of propitiation are not indulged in without recourse to divination, and even in divining the cause of an ill and recommending a ceremony, they must be careful that the other unnamed ancestors will not be offended by the attention paid to one of their number. In the course of a disease, if the sick man is holding his own, this may be because the majority of the ancestors are battling with the ancestor who caused the trouble, and that is the reason why he has not died. The effect of a ceremony in such a situation would be to ignore the help which some ancestors were *giving*, and to antagonize them rather than to get the man well again.

The spirits of the dead are definitely anthropomorphic in character and action, and there is a clear dividing line between them and the Supreme Being on the one hand and the cluster of non-ancestral spirits on the other who are no longer classifiable by human characteristics.

The remembrance of their ancestors usually takes an all-embracing form and they are addressed as *bakurugenji*, ancestors, or as brothers, — *badugu*. Although the names of their ancestors can be quoted to the enquirer, they were never heard to be used in propitiation ceremonies.

The centre of Sukuma ritual practice is the sacrifice, which varies between a small libation of water and flour to the slaughter of a bull, depending on the status of the propitiator and the importance of the initiating trouble. Both to the onlooker and the participator it signifies the unity of the living in family groups as well as their continuity as one with their ancestors.

The sacrifice has a social function independent of its ritual value. The compound at the time of the ceremony will contain a number of family relatives who have been specifically called to take part in it, but a significant feature is the role of senior elder of the parish who will bless the initiator or the ceremony before it commences. There will also be present the men from the neighboring compounds as well as the elders of the surrounding parish. It serves as a form of social cement while at the same time allowing the holder of the ceremony to pay back hospitality which he has received in the past.

Apart from any other consideration the Sukuma have a passion for meat, and the holder of a sacrifice is, at least for that day, the centre of the social life of his community and he must benefit indirectly from the ceremony. The magician who carries out numbers of ceremonies in the name of his ancestors is not only establishing himself as a person with whom the ancestors are in strong communion, but becomes a dominant personality in his community which must also contribute to his material success as a satisfactory diviner.

This factor becomes all the more important when it is realized that the old system of status promotion through feasting is gradually breaking down. The gap thus left as well as the function of these feasts may now have been taken up by propitiation ceremonies.

Another factor inherent in the propitiation ceremony and allied usages, is the possibility of over-doing it through fear, so that repeated ceremonies do something to control a form of neurosis, which may be both psychological as well as social. Mwanza the principal town of Sukumaland, on the Lake shore, has a far larger number of magicians in its immediate neighborhood than are to be found in the most distant parts of the area. Possibly the function of the propitiation ceremony has changed from the relief of purely personal ills to the relief of some form of underlying social insecurity.

Accepting their fundamental idea that the dead and the living are one uninterrupted line, it is natural that they have affection for the dead of the family both in the general and in the particular. Although so many of their troubles are thought to be due to ancestors, there does not appear to be any fear of them even when their descendants are suffering from their activities, and these ceremonies can only be described as loosely formal.

It does not seem that the ancestors are considered specifically as the protectors of the family and this may possibly be a consequence of the non-localization of lineages which would have necessitated individual rather than lineage welfare.

There is a marked degree of informality in addressing them with no display of honorifics, in fact there is often no means of telling by the language whether the Sukuma are addressing the living or the dead.

The ancestors through the medium of divination ceremonies do not offer guidance and advice to their descendants, and as often as not they are asked to agree to lines of action or states of affairs which have already been decided on or carried out.

The head of the family asks for their intercession with powers greater than they rather than for their help, and in general they are asked to abstain from evil rather than to bring about unexpected good.

These propitiation ceremonies are not directed to relatives who can be remembered by even the oldest of the family. The relative causing the trouble comes from the distant past so that the production of his name in a divination ceremony usually occasions considerable surprise, as the name and the incidents complained of are unknown even in the tales of the lineage.

The cycle of an individual ancestor in name form depends on remembrance as an individual, and considerable stress is made on the unfortunate circumstances of losing one's name. Nevertheless, the individual soon fades into their group ancestry and no longer has any individuality in the social sense.

VI. ANCESTOR WORSHIP AS A MORAL AND SOCIAL FORCE

Although it may be supposed that the processes of ancestor worship act as a sanction on their form of morality there is no

indication that the connection is close and that infringements of their code are immediately followed by supernatural action.

If we considered this to be the case and found that the people relied on this connection, it would suggest that their processes of customary law were weak. This, however, is not the case as it seems that the ancestors do not act on matters which are more readily dealt by their legal processes.

They are certainly not the upholders of custom in general nor do they appear to take any action in cases where particular individuals are thought to have caused general misfortune through their alleged starting of a drought. No cases have been found in which they took action in cases of adultery, theft and other private delicts.

We must not forget that the ancestors are not a separate series of beings but that they are, if not one with their living descendants, at least a part of the same family in the relationship of father to son and mother to daughter.

Between these categories there always exists a very wide measure of tolerance and it would be hardly likely that the father would take action against his son for theft etc., nor the mother against her daughter should she disgrace the family by being caught in adultery.

Very few cases can be found in which fathers or mothers have disowned their children and even then it has been caused by the children's flagrant neglect or disobedience rather than because of some more public action. The ancestors therefore are interested in continuing the lineage and in its maintenance, and are only likely to take action when they feel that this unity is being disrupted. The majority of cases of ancestor possession result from their descendants neglecting them within the framework of the parental relationship.

There is a sense of dependence on their ancestors as being one with them in the same family rather than an aggressive control over their descendants by dominating ancestors. It is not a fact that, if the man behaves well and remembers his ancestors, they will bless him, but rather that the man will be upset by the ancestors for reasons of their own choosing which the man will not be able to find out in advance. The function of ancestor worship is not to dispose of individual troubles, but to unify the family in response to a challenge to its continuity.

The land is not considered as belonging to the ancestors, as none of the lineages except the dominant lineage of the chiefdom headed by the chief is in any way localized. The ancestors of the earth and any ritual associated with it are absent from their religious life. Ownership of land is only by active occupation and any conception of ritual ownership would be alien to this, apart from the fact that every lineage has a mythological charter which even in its historical sections contains many migrations.

Although in the past the worship of ancestors had a very wide field of activity both geographically and socially, it is doubtful if nowadays it has any influence outside the expanded family. It is not to be viewed as a field of ritual collaboration overlapping kinship ties and extending into the necessity of neighborhood unity.

Sometimes informants say that the murderer cannot commit such a crime without having first committed many sins against his ancestors, and it is the latter who drive him to kill. Although he does not usually take a knife out with him, he will take it on that day. The man who is to be murdered cannot be called to the place of killing by the ancestors of his murderer, so it is considered that he is called by witchcraft with which his own ancestors have concurred. In fact the whole thing is regarded as rather a foregone conclusion, and even more so because sometimes the murder would take place in the presence of a lot of people, when by all the odds it should have been prevented. The overt reason for the murder is not the real cause, which will be provided by their ancestors.

The wizard, if he has failed to kill someone through sickness, might find out the man's ancestors and attack him before the latter are aware of what is going on. The ancestors are not propitiated during the night or at midday, so such attacks would be made at these times when the ancestor spirits are not in attendance at the homes of their descendants.

The idea may be that such serious public delicts must involve *a priori* rejection by ancestors who have no further interest in that individual as a member of the lineage.

There is little attention to the purely personal side of remembrance and it is doubtful whether any individual would carry out a ceremony for a particular ancestor purely out of

affection for him as a remembered individual. This may indeed seem strange but we have been unable to discover any customs other than those connected with the funeral, which would testify to a prolongation of personal grief. It is considered that the elements of personal grief may well be acted out in the responsibilities of inheritance especially when there are cattle to look after in the compound.

In conclusion we find that the Sukuma have no consistent cosmology but a rough theory of causation which is not specifically dependent on the results or failures of ancestor worship. In their worship, there is little to distinguish the living from the dead and the parent relationship becomes submerged in the ancestors as a corporate body to which it is directed. The relationship with the ancestors is founded on expediency within the framework of continuing remembrance as the only means of insuring survival. The ancestors act as a sanction for the maintenance of moral standards which appear to be only definable in kinship terms.

Their ancestor worship has no part in their knowledge of spirits and phantoms which make them frightened of the night and of lonely places. It is the key to the functioning of their culture and not a ghost story.

NOTES AND NEWS

Robert T. Anderson, one of the contributors to this number is at present a Postdoctoral Fellow of the National Science Foundation. His research on Eskimo reindeer herding had its inception in discussions with the staff of the Alaska Native Service in Juneau in 1953. The greater part of the research presented in the present paper was, however, carried out in 1957 at the University of Copenhagen while he was a Research Training Fellow of the Social Science Research Council.

R. E. S. Tanner, the other contributor to this number, is a District Officer in the British Colonial Service and has had considerable experience among the Sukuma. He has recently returned to Africa after having completed work for a graduate research degree at the Institute of Social Anthropology, Oxford University.

Michael Kenny is a new Associate Editor of the *ANTHROPOLOGICAL QUARTERLY*. In February 1959 he came from the Institute of Social Anthropology at Oxford to join the Faculty of The Catholic University of America as Assistant Professor of Anthropology. He has done extensive field research in Spain on rural and urban communities and is currently pursuing his Hispanic and acculturation interests with reference to Central and South America.

Rev. Dr. Martin Gusinde, S.V.D., after delivering an extensive series of lectures in several European countries and in India, is now Visiting Professor of Anthropology at Nanzan University, Nagoya, Japan.

Rev. Dr. Paul Hanly Furfey, Professor of Sociology at The Catholic University of America is Assistant Director of The Juvenile Delinquency Evaluation Project, an independent, official agency of the City of New York. On leave from the University for over a year, Dr. Furfey carried on research in connection with the Project both in New York City and in Puerto Rico. He has been collaborating in the writing of several of the "Interim Reports" published by the Project.

Rev. Frank Lynch, S.J., has returned to the University of Chicago where he is writing up his research data gathered during a twenty-month study of a rural town in the Philippines.

Carroll Brodsky is carrying on research in gerontology while

specializing in Psychiatry at the School of Medicine of the University of California at San Francisco.

Madeleine Mathiot, a candidate for the Ph.D. in Anthropology, at The Catholic University of America, is at present doing field research in Arizona. After completing a phonological and morphological analysis of Papago for the Franciscan Fathers, who are supporting this phase of the work, she will continue investigation in other areas of Papago culture, especially in their mythology.





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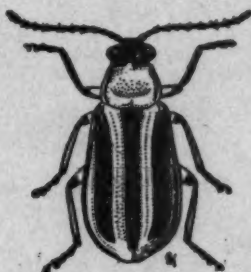
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